1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

623 fendants unwilling to abide by the decision of the elders may have recourse to the T'u-ssu; but his verdict very seldom differs from that of the elders.

•577 From the foregoing it can be seen that the concepts of
184 the Monguors seem to be based on custom, tradition, and what community opinion accepts as "just." Typical concepts are: wrongs are to be righted; injustices to be corrected; the rights of parents over their children, of husbands over their wives, and of widows to dispose of themselves, are to be asserted and defended; private property is to be protected; no one has the right to disturb the peace of the community. It is apparent also that among the Monguors the villagers in reality govern themselves. Although the elders are backed by the authority of the T'u-ssu, it is the villagers themselves who for the most part patch up their own quarrels, punish faults, right wrongs, and keep the peace.

The system is, in effect, one of democracy. It is only when these democratic practices do not work that recourse is had to the aid and protection of the T'u-ssu.

181 At the village meetings on the threshing floor, overwhelming stress is placed on faithful adherence to the old customs. One of the most important duties of village chiefs is to watch over their observance. The T'u-ssu, on his triennial visit, always makes inquiries on this subject, on which conservatism can be truly called hidebound. When Monguors, especially of the older generation, are heatedly discussing matters of the village, and the supreme argument of "old custom" is brought up, all opposition instantly subsides. The chiefs and elders of villages and the heads of families always urge the observance of traditions. They are firmly convinced that neglect of ancestral custom ruins the stability and prosperity of the clan. On every occasion the younger generation has this injuction dinned into its ears. The chiefs of the villages will curse other chiefs of villages, and T'u-ssu who are careless of old custom. The test of a good village chief or T'u-ssu is unshakable firmness in strict observance of the clan traditions as if they were as unyielding as the laws of nature.

177 When the Chinese Republic began in 1911, however, new ideas which had a baneful repercussion on the minds of young Monguors started to spread. It was almost a hopeless struggle for the elders to try to save the old customs. It then became apparent that the Monguors were in fact not sufficiently insulated from the pressure exerted by new ideas from outside their own society. Their social concepts had gradually been undermined and weakened by the enrollment of Chinese in their clans. Chinese concepts had, unnoticeably, long been seeping into their thought—Chinese had, it must be remembered, risen to be even village elders—and a situation had gradually been created in which the Chinese way of thinking, even if conservative in itself, was disruptive of the old Monguor concepts if it differed from Monguor concepts.

[P. 80a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

858 596 family, give them strength and courage in the struggle for the necessities of life, and finally, as I always observed, the love of the grandparents for their grandchildren holds the family united, because only when the grandparents love their children can the daughters-in-law, who are so numerous in the family, forgive each other's and the grandparent's shortcomings and deficiencies. Love for the children is the oil that makes the wheels of the Monguor family turn smoothly. No Monguor can withstand the love displayed for his children.

MORALITY IN THE MONGUOR FAMILY

572 577 It is a general phenomenon that husbands and wives who really enjoy the delights of a happy family life do not feel the need of indulging themselves with pleasures shocking to each other's feelings. People engrossed the whole year long with the problem of making ends meet, dispose of little time to spend in that way and cannot afford its costs. In order to understand the problem we must take stock of the peculiar conditions under which the members of an extended family live. The sons, with their wives and children, live in the same courtyard, one next to the other, with the chief of the family and his wife among them. Permission for absence must be granted by the chief of the extended family, and because there is only one small gate to enter the courtyard, every visitor is instantly noticed, the reasons for his visit are discussed by all the daughters-in-law, and the length of his stay is well observed. Every one in the courtyard is the guardian of the other members of the family, and so the opportunity for misbehavior at home is reduced to a minimum. These are the conditions of every extended family. There is no secrecy. They live in glass houses. The opportunity for misbehavior in small families consisting of husband, wife, and small children is greater, although these families have next door neighbors whose tongues they cannot prevent from wagging. A married daughter who visits her parents, sometimes for many weeks, is more free since her parents do not have as much commanding influence upon her as when she was a child. Very long visits of married daughters at the home of their parents are discouraged by the older people, who seem to know more about the matter. Attendance at the public meetings when such problems are tackled in the presence of all the very interested villagers and the infliction of dishonorable punishments undoubtedly have a salutary and preventive effect upon the people; but in the Monguor society, as in all other societies, it happens that once in a while somebody falls from grace.

834 It is not allowed to the young folk to tell smutty jokes in public or to sing lascivious songs in the village; at weeding time, however, obscene songs are sung in the open fields and allowance seems to be made for that custom. At public festivities, at the lamaseries and at the general assembly of the clan, men and women are

[231 cont.]

The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It [241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects [782] man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering, agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing [773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend: "Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from heaven (tieńgĕre džoġ nañladzia; tieńgĕrdza perlõńgĕ bõdzi rĕdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated from the material available.

776 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of 577 heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in 626 relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience [192] the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physical heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense. Thus they say, for instance, sen sgil (good heart); tsini sgil diesẽn ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua (you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it." Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

[231 cont.]

776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
• 577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieṅgĕre dardzia, heaven has
[192] punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolġuę dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (s̆ge tieṅgĕrni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
[831] The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzũn tieṅgĕrde fdzë bõlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining city. The city was carried by storm and delivered to sack and slaughter: for the soldiers there was but death. The brigands knew that the t'u-ssu had stirred the people to resist the brigands, and they wreaked ruin on them. The old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 1*a–b*), and the T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a*) were taken prisoner. The T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen (of the old Li Wen branch) was killed with his wife and 120 members of his family (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21; 28: 15; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 43*b*). The wife of Li T'ien-yu, the concubine, the two brothers, and 300 persons of his family and servants were killed. The same year the T'u-ssu Yeh kuo-chi, who had been called by the emperor early in 1643 to fight the brigands in Ch'ang p'ing in Liaotung, died on the field of battle in 1643 (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15). All these t'u-ssu with their families laid down their lives defending the dynasty. 175× 669

Then the brigands went down into the country devastating, burning villages, murdering anyone who made a stand, abducting women, stealing livestock, etc. A group of them went to Kokonor, where all the chiefs surrendered.

The brigands knew that the old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien had been the promoter of the resistance and had killed their chief Huo Chin. They decided to kill him. His son Hsing-chu spent the entire family fortune, buying 100 fine horses. He went to see the chief of the brigands in P'ing-Jung-i, hoping to redeem his father. The chief not only refused to accept the horses, but told him straight to his face that his father was to be killed. Then his brother Ping-chu protested, saying that his father had not killed Huo Chin, but that he himself was the murderer. The chief looked at him a long time and finally said, you are a filial son. He ordered the father to be bound to a car and to leave for Hsi-an. Hsing-chu cried the whole way home. However, his father was not killed (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 19*a*). 175× 577 ● 593

His father was sent to Hsi-an, together with Li T'ien-yu. In T'ung Kuan they met the Manchu Prince Ah-Ki-Ko (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). Both submitted to the newly established dynasty and were released. The Governor General Meng Ch'iao-fang, sent by the Ch'ing dynasty to pacify Kansu, had already arrived in 1645. He rehabilitated both t'u-ssu in their former office of commander of the clan, enjoining them to pacify the t'u-ssu of Hsining and Ho-hsi, to induce the Tibetans to be submissive, to abstain from revolts and to capture the rebel Tibetan Chao Chin-chung (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a–b*; 31: 21; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 44*b*). To the T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen who had perished with his wife and 120 members of his family the emperor later ordered built an honorific arch in Hsining with the inscription "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan" (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15*b*). 175× [241 703]

[P.52(A)]

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colony which the Mongols had handed down to the Ming.

HUANGCHUNG MONGUORS AND THEIR T'U-SSU DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

The establishment of a new dynasty in China used to entail desperate times for a long period. The faithful Monguors with their t'u-ssu, after having defended the Ming dynasty to the end, pledged allegiance to, and cast their lot with the new Ch'ing dynasty, and again would prove their faithfulness. This time they had to fight at the side of the Manchu troops against the rebel Chinese officials of Kansu and all China, even though the power of the new dynasty was still problematical, but all of them remained heroically loyal and dependable to the end, suffering hardship and dying for the dynasty. Their faithfulness in such trying and tragic circumstances cannot but be admired. The history of the Monguors is a shining example of faithfulness seldom recorded in history.

The people in the northern provinces of China had, for many years, had a desperate time on account of the brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng and the invading groups of Manchus looting the country of its wealth. The despairing Ming emperor had hanged himself on April 25, 1644, and Li Tzu-ch'eng had entered the capital and proclaimed himself emperor. The Ming general Wu San-kuei defended the northern part of the great wall of the empire and the pass of Shanhaikuan against invading Manchu plunderers. Considering that the very existence of the empire was at stake and abhorring and loathing the savage brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng, Wu San-kuei invited Manchu troops to come over to annihilate the brigands and save the dynasty. However he had little thought that in making this compact he was sealing the fate of the Chinese empire. He opened the pass, and his troops in combination with those of the Manchus rushed to the capital which they entered on June 6, 1644. The brigand emperor Li Tzu-ch'eng had fled, but the Manchus proclaimed their own emperor and inaugurated their Ch'ing dynasty. On October 7 Li Tzu-ch'eng died. Jealousies and dissensions arose among the chiefs of the brigands and their impact was broken. Immediately Wu-San-kuei, leading his troops in concert with the Manchu army, pursued the brigands and achieved the surrender of the Chinese provinces.

At the end of 1645, T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien and Li T'ien-yu surrendered in T'ung Kuan to the Manchu Prince A-ki-ko, came back to Kansu, and called on General Meng Ch'iao-fang. They were rehabilitated and ordered to induce the surrender of the Monguor t'u-ssu. All the t'u-ssu submitted to the new dynasty (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). Meng Ch'iao-fang immediately sent to Hsining Commanders Chiang Sanchih (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 3*b*) and Chang Chi-yao

N *563 M 604 over his sister's children. His rights in this regard are manifested mainly in three cases: (1) upon the natural death of his sister's children, they cannot be buried without his permission. The maternal uncle is considered "master of the bones" of the deceased, and has the right to permit the burial, to impede it or to prevent it. (2) If they have been murdered or have committed suicide, he is required to initiate and execute vengeance for the blood of his sister's child. (3) When they are subject to punishment for violating the society's rules, the maternal uncle must punish the children of his sister. Such punishment may range from capital to very minor forms.

N *563 M 586 Divorce is extremely rare among the Mongours. So, too, are cases of repudiation or desertion by the husband. Schram does not mention the way in which a divorce is finalized, nor how long a waiting period, if any, after divorce before remarriage is permitted.

N *563 M 837 Cases of adultery are extremely rare in Mongour society. The people are engrossed constantly with the problem of making a living, and they have little time for complicated affairs. The close physical proximity of life in an extended family makes it extremely difficult for anyone's lengthy absence or a stranger's presence in the home to go unnoticed. Schram concludes that "The morality of the Mongours who live in villages and are occupied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that of the nomad Mongols. Mongour families on the average seemed to me to be happy families that work hard but enjoy life."

M [577] [184] [114]